5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 that ranges from the Olympian civil servant to a taxi driver and a clerk without work, has left them under no illusion about the equal fallibility of the European. This is in direct contrast to Nigeria where until very recently all Europeans held executive posts, lived in large houses in separate reservations, had cars, servants and high incomes, all of which gave the impression to the vast majority of Nigerians who had not travelled overseas that the English were a race which commanded and did not occupy itself with subaltern work. Thus to this day, even in Lagos, the European is still a 'remarkable' being. In [369] Dakar the Frenchman passes unremarked, and the *Dakarois* is as used to seeing him on foot or on a velo-cycle as in a car, with the result that the Senegalese on the whole do not have any complex about the European as a person although he does about the technical superiority of the European and about France's insistence on the superiority of its culture.

P. Mercier, the French sociologist, in an investigation into [369] the habits of the European community in Dakar, found that very few Europeans had African friends outside work, and that contact between white and black was largely limited to the following spheres: among colleagues, employees, and domestic servants, in cultural and sporting activities, and in schools. Few marriages take place between African and European in Dakar and when they do they are usually between African male and European female, and are contracted in Paris. There are two obvious explanations for this. For many it is impossible to find a wife of the same intellectual level in a society where Islam has retarded female education. For many others the need for a companion leads to love affairs and eventual marriage with women whom they would not consider marrying at home. The reason that few French women marry Africans in Senegal, as distinct from in France, is that they become more aware of the type of society into which they are [596] marrying. It is very difficult for the European woman,

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

with her restricted notions about the family, to integrate successfully into the extended family, especially in a territory like Senegal where family relations are of such importance that it is practically forbidden to refer to the economic burden they cause. The European wife often insists on her husband breaking with the extended family and restricting the family to the usual European size. Instances of marriage between European male and African females are rare because of the small number of well educated African females.

This all builds up to a picture of a French community with little interest in assimilating the Senegalese to their own standards. But a number of points must be stressed. On the whole the French have always accepted the Senegalese as equals. There is a strict code of mutual courtesy between Senegalese and all but the most uncouth Frenchmen. As Claude Duchemin of the *Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire* has written: 'A genuine "niceness" was apparent in their daily contacts, simply and with no ostentation, as if it were quite natural. It seemed that each wanted to prove to the other his wish to play the game loyally, without complexes.' Also there has been remarkably little use of 'pidgin' in Senegal, a debased form of French which by implication infers an inferior recipient.

But most important of all is the fact that a small minority of Frenchmen, fortunately usually in positions of authority have followed personally an assimilationist policy. This has been most marked in the political sphere. Though the great majority of Frenchmen who were interviewed by Mercier had nothing to do with local politics and even talked in terms of maintaining 'white solidarity' a few were militant politicians alongside men like Senghor and Lamine Guèye. Men like Maître Paul Bonifay, until recently deputy Mayor of Dakar, who was Secretary of the *S.F.I.O.* in Dakar for many years, or André Peytavin, who worked closely with Senghor in the early days of the *B.D.S.* and was chosen as Minister of Finance in the Government

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

463 [563] has enjoyed a much higher rate of education than was possible in an Islamic community like Senegal, even taking into account French assimilation policy.

There is a pronounced bias in Senegal against entering into commerce, whether at the African level or at the European level. This bias has been observed by many Europeans. It may be thought of as a mere attempt to explain away the lack of success or rather a lack of desire and intention to Africanise commerce, but against this view, M. Assane Seck, one of the leaders of the Opposition [665] *P.R.A.-Sénégal* and a lecturer at the university, who might normally be only too pleased to pin the slow rate of Africanisation of commerce on the Government, has said that one of the chief obstacles to the Africanisation of economy at its higher levels is the preference of the Senegalese élite, [591] and even the lesser educated classes, for work in the Administration. [647] Under the French the Administration seems to have enjoyed a very high status especially as rates of pay [465] have always been considerably higher than in commerce and industry. Commerce, even when it pays better, has among the Senegalese something of the smear it had in ninteenth-century England.

471 [472] Another barrier to the Africanisation of shopkeeping and small scale private enterprise is the difficulty the Senegalese have in amassing capital. The obligations towards members • [596] of the extended family are such that a man with money has calls made on it from even his most distant relatives. This social parasitism is much stronger in Senegal than in most West African countries. One of the few important Senegalese business men operating in Dakar today has admitted that he had to reduce his family obligations drastically, not only because he was married to a European, but because unless he did so, he would never be able to keep enough capital in his business. Diop Abdoulaye, in his study of the Tou- [736] couleur, has protested against the use of the term family parasitism for something which 'makes it possible to help those in need, the unemployed, for example, who can then

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strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups: 369x 565

On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille etendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases. [596]

On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family. [594]

Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The [177]

17: Mercier--37 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
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uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1).

1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanguineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)--

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2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

/31/ cont. /

a matter of a de facto matrilocal, non-institutionalized marriage.

369x 592 [591] [596]

do not form separate households. The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups. [589]

2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;